

***** TOP SECRET *****S COPY

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FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK #2//

TO AL ADAMS FOR THE SECRETARY

T O P S E C R E T SENSITIVE CONTAINS CODEWORD EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY
VIA BLACK PATCH WHS1003

TOHAK #2

DOS, NSA review(s)
completed.

JUNE 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: INFORMATION ITEMS

CAMBODIA FIGHTS THE VIETNAMESE AND RECEIVES ASSISTANCE FROM PEKING; DESPITE ONGOING EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE OVERLAPPING TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, VIETNAMESE AND CAMBODIAN FORCES CONTINUED TO CLASH ALONG THE MAINLAND BORDER THIS WEEK. FOR THE MOST PART, THE TWO SIDES HAVE BEEN TRADING FIRE ACROSS THE BORDER, BUT SOME GROUND SKIRMISHING HAS ALSO OCCURRED. THE CAMBODIANS HAVE MOVED TWO DIVISIONS INTO BORDER AREAS AND OTHER TROOPS TO THE PORT OF KOMPONG SOM, WHERE THEY COULD BE DISPATCHED TO OFFSHORE ISLANDS.

THE VIETNAMESE HAVE APPARENTLY NOT MOVED ANY MAJOR REINFORCEMENTS UP TO THE BORDER BUT HAVE TAKEN STEPS TO IMPROVE COORDINATION AMONG NAVAL, AIR, AND INFANTRY FORCES ASSIGNED TO THE GULF OF THAILAND. THIS SUGGESTS THAT THEY MAY BE PLANNING OPERATIONS TO CAPTURE ADDITIONAL OFFSHORE ISLANDS. VIETNAMESE AIRCRAFT, INCLUDING A NUMBER OF CAPTURED U.S. HELICOPTERS AND A-37S FLOWN BY FORMER SOUTH VIETNAMESE AIR FORCE PILOTS, PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN THE SUCCESSFUL OPERATION TO SEIZE THE CAMBODIAN OCCUPIED POULO WAI ISLANDS EARLIER THIS MONTH.

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

PHNOM PENH'S STRAINED RELATIONS WITH ITS ERSTWHILE VIETNAMESE ALLIES STAND IN MARKED CONTRAST TO THE FLOURISHING SINO-CAMBODIAN

***** WHSR COMMENT *****

MCFARLANE, RODMAN

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***** P S E C R E T ***** COPY

RELATIONSHIP. THE ARRIVAL OF A CHINESE BOEING 707 IN PHNOM PENH LAST WEEK WAS THE EIGHTH SINCE THE KHMER COMMUNIST TAKEOVER. THREE OF THE FLIGHTS CARRIED A TOTAL OF 217 PASSENGERS, AND MORE MAY HAVE ARRIVED UNDETECTED. IN TERMS OF PERSONNEL, THE TOTAL CHINESE PRESENCE MAY WELL EXCEED THAT OF THE U.S. MISSION AT THE HEIGHT OF THE WAR. INTERCEPTED CAMBODIAN MESSAGES HAVE REFLECTED THE INVOLVEMENT OF CHINESE ADVISERS IN NEARLY EVERY FACET OF ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. SIXTY CHINESE TECHNICIANS ARE OVERSEEING REPAIRS TO THE RAILROAD IN SOUTHWESTERN CAMBODIA ALONE. CHINESE SHIPS HAVE UNLOADED A VARIETY OF CARGOES AT KOMPONG SOM, INCLUDING RICE, FUEL, CLOTH, TRUCKS, AND LARGE QUANTITIES OF FARM IMPLEMENTS. ON MAY 10, THE CAMBODIANS BROADCAST A COMMENTARY LAUDING THE CHINESE AND DESCRIBING THEM AS CAMBODIA'S "MOST LOYAL AND CLOSEST COMRADES IN ARMS."

POSSIBLE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IN LAOS: THERE ARE UNCONFIRMED REPORTS THAT PRIME MINISTER SOUVANNA PHOUMA MAY BE PLANNING TO TURN OVER LEADERSHIP OF THE COALITION GOVERNMENT TO HIS HALF BROTHER, PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG, THE NOMINAL CHIEF OF THE LAO COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

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SOUVANNA INTENDS TO ANNOUNCE HIS RESIGNATION AND SOUPHANOUVONG'S SUCCESSOR BEFORE LEAVING LAOS WITH KING SAVANG AROUND THE MIDDLE OF JULY. THE REPORTS OF SOUVANNA'S IMPENDING RETIREMENT FROM ACTIVE POLITICAL LIFE ARE PLAUSIBLE. THE COALITION GOVERNMENT IS NOW DOMINATED BY THE LAO COMMUNISTS, LEAVING SOUVANNA A VIRTUALLY POWERLESS FIGUREHEAD. MOREOVER, THE PRIME MINISTER IS NEARLY 74 YEARS OLD AND HIS HEALTH IS FAILING. THE NOTION OF SOUPHANOUVONG'S SUCCEEDING THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP IS ALSO PLAUSIBLE. THE SO-CALLED "RED PRINCE" HAS LONG BEEN CONSIDERED SOUVANNA'S HEIR APPARENT, AND HE ENJOYS A NATIONAL FOLLOWING SECOND ONLY TO THAT OF SOUVANNA.

SOUVANNA'S DEPARTURE WOULD LEAVE ONLY THE BAREST COALITION FACADE FOR A GOVERNMENT ALREADY DOMINATED BY THE COMMUNISTS.

25X1

FOLLOWING THE DEPARTURE OF SOUVANNA, SOUPHANOUVONG WILL ANNOUNCE THAT THE TIME FOR A FURTHER AND FINAL "RESTRUCTURING" OF THE LAO GOVERNMENT IS AT HAND. THIS ANNOUNCEMENT WILL REPORTEDLY HERALD THE "LIBERATION" OF VIENTIANE AND THE "APPOINTMENT" BY SOUPHANOUVONG OF LAO COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE LEADERS KAYSONE PHOMVINAN AND NOUHAK PHOMSAYAN AS "DEPUTY" PRIME MINISTERS IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT. KAYSONE AND NOUHAK CONSIDERABLY OUTRANK SOUPHANOUVONG AND WOULD PRESUMABLY BE THE REAL POWERS BEHIND THE SCENES. WHETHER THE PATHET LAO CHOOSE THIS COURSE OR OPT TO RETAIN SOME TRAPPINGS OF COALITION RULE WILL MAKE LITTLE DIFFERENCE IN TERMS OF POLITICAL REALITIES.

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PANAMANIAN REACTION TO SNYDER AMENDMENT: PANAMANIAN LEADER TORRIJOS HAS TRIED TO PUT THE BEST PUBLIC FACE ON HIS REACTION TO THE SNYDER AMENDMENT, EXPRESSING HIS CONFIDENCE THAT THE U.S. WOULD MAINTAIN ITS COMMITMENTS TO NEGOTIATE AND HIS FAITH IN THE NEGOTIATORS. PRESS TREATMENT FOCUSED ON OPPOSITION TO THE AMENDMENT. NEVERTHELESS, OUR EMBASSY REPORTS THAT TORRIJOS AND OTHER TOP PANAMANIAN LEADERS ARE "SHOCKED, FRUSTRATED, AND WORRIED" BY PASSAGE OF THE AMENDMENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CANAL TREATY NEGOTIATIONS AS WELL AS ITS POTENTIAL IMPACT UPON PANAMANIAN POLITICS.

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